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## America's Position in the Pacific

*Moderator, QUINCY HOWE*

*Speaker*

THOMAS E. DEWEY

*Interrogators*

ROBERT AURA SMITH

FRANK GIBNEY



COMING

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## America's Position in the Pacific

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### THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

**HON. THOMAS E. DEWEY**—Governor of New York. Born in Owosso, Michigan, in 1902, Thomas E. Dewey received his B. A. degree from the University of Michigan and did his graduate work in Law there and at Columbia University. In 1926 he was admitted to the New York Bar and engaged in private practice until 1931. He then became chief assistant U. S. attorney in the southern district of New York for two years, and the following year was named U.S. attorney for the district. Mr. Dewey achieved public recognition as special prosecutor in New York's investigation of Organized Crime in 1936-37, paving the way for his election as district attorney of New York County in 1937. He was nominated Republican candidate for Governor of New York in 1938, was elected to this office in '42 and again in '46. In the national political arena, Mr. Dewey received the nomination for President in 1944 and again in 1948. In this election year he has worked actively in support of General Eisenhower both before and since his nomination as the Presidential candidate. Mr. Dewey is a frequent contributor to magazines and is author of *The Case Against the New Deal*. He has visited post-war Europe, and in a recent tour of the Orient travelled 41,000 miles to 17 republics, kingdoms, territories and colonies. His new book, *Journey to the Far Pacific*, resulted from this trip.

**Interrogators:** **ROBERT AURA SMITH**—Editorial Writer, *The New York Times*; expert on the Far East. A newspaperman since 1925 who has also spent considerable time teaching in American colleges, Mr. Smith became acquainted with the Orient well before World War II. In addition to his journalistic writing he is author of *Our Future in Asia*, *Your Foreign Policy*, and *Divided India*.

**FRANK GIBNEY**—Member of editorial staff, *Time* and *Life*. World War II took Mr. Gibney to the Pacific area in the role of interpreter and interrogator for the U. S. Navy. After the war and a short period in Occupied Japan, he turned to journalism. As a correspondent for *Time*, he covered London, then Paris, and in 1949 was sent to Japan, where he eventually headed the Tokyo bureau. Currently, Mr. Gibney is with the magazine's "home office." His first book, *Five Gentlemen of Japan* will be published this winter.

**Moderator:** **QUINCY HOWE**—Associate professor of journalism, University of Illinois.

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## America's Position in the Pacific

### Moderator Howe:

Neither our chief speaker tonight nor the topic he will discuss with experts needs any introduction. New York's Governor Dewey and the Pacific areas are well known to all Americans. Last year, however, Governor Dewey and the Pacific countries were introduced to each other when the Governor embarked on a strictly unofficial journey that swept him the whole length of the far Pacific—all the way from Japan and Korea down through the Philippines and Hong Kong and on to Malaya and Indonesia.

All this time Governor Dewey kept a travel diary in which he recorded his conversations with all sorts of conditions of men, together with his own impressions of what he saw and heard. On his return he fashioned this material into a book, *Journey to the Far Pacific*, which Doubleday has just published and which the Book of the Month Club has made its mid-summer selection.

Tonight we're going to use Governor Dewey's book as the springboard for a discussion of America's position in the Pacific. After the usual opening statement Governor Dewey will be questioned by two interrogators, Robert Aura Smith of the *New York Times* and Frank Gibney of *Time Magazine*. Then will come our familiar Town Meeting questions from the audience.

Now Governor Dewey, last year you were out in the far Pacific. This year you've gotten rather close to the political grassroots here in the United States. How does this whole picture look to you now — the situation in the far Pacific and our response to its challenge.

### Governor Dewey:

Well, Mr. Howe, it took me about 130 thousand words to answer that question in the book, although I didn't spend much time talking about politics or policies.

You could answer it in a number of ways. First, you could think of the Pacific strictly from the standpoint of the security of the United States, which after all is of primary importance to all of us. How can we keep it on our side so that we have that great productive capacity and those millions of people with us instead of against us?

As few people seem to recognize, there are 300 million people on that little Pacific rim from Tokyo down through Southeastern Asia, down through Malaya and Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand. That is more people than there are in Western Europe.

Western Europe is of course the cradle of our civilization and controls much of the raw materials of the world and is of first importance, but equal with it, I think, is the critical defensive area of the West. If we should find that that rim of Asia were lost, our defenses would come right back to Hawaii or substantially to the coast of California, and I don't like to think of that possibility because it would invite war.

Then you can think of the Pacific in another way. You can think of it as an area where tremendously important strategic materials come from. Ninety per cent of all the rubber in the world is produced in Malaya and Indonesia. Fifty-six per cent of the tin comes from there. Without just those two items, our whole

economy in this country would be upset very seriously.

Or you can think of it, as I like to, in terms of 300 million pretty nice human beings. They speak different languages and a good big percentage of them don't have very much education, but one of the things I learned hard on this trip was that education and intelligence don't mean the same thing. I met a lot of farmers and workers in those countries who'd never been to school for a single day, and some of them were a lot smarter than people that I knew who had a couple of college degrees. (*Applause*)

There just isn't any such thing as the masses of Asia. Every single person is a member of a family, and the beauty of family life in Asia is something that most of the rest of the world could very well see and admire—the way they work and share their hospitality. Their generosity of spirit and this moving thing that is called nationalism, that some people are afraid of, can possibly be the best force that's happened in this world in a long time, particularly, of course, if they end up on the side of the free world and can last against this continuous hammering away, day by day, by the forces of communism in every country.

So there are so many ways to see it that I'd like to give it as a sum total of many ways.

**Moderator Howe:**

Well, thank you, Governor Dewey, you certainly put a lot of thought and ideas into very few words, and having read your book I can assure anyone who's listening that the book is just as packed as what the Governor has just said.

Well, now, for our two interrogators. Mr. Robert Aura Smith, you've edited a daily paper in Manila, you've served with the United States in India during the war, you're now an editorial writer on the *New York Times*, specializing in far Eastern affairs, and you have recently returned from a very comprehensive trip through many of these areas that Governor Dewey also visited. What's your chief question that you'd like to throw at Governor Dewey, or the first one at any rate, Mr. Smith?

**Mr. Smith:** The first question I want to throw at Governor Dewey is to ask him to go a little bit further than he did in his book on one of the critical things about which he spoke. Governor Dewey, you have both said and have written that the most immediately critical area in all of Southeast Asia, apart from Korea, of course, is Indo-China.

You have suggested that there should be a firm declaration on behalf of Indo-China by France, Great Britain, and the United States, and you've enthusiastically gone after the idea of regional defense rather than just trying to meet situations as they arise. I want to ask you what particular steps can be taken now to further the thing that you believe ought to be done such as this declaration. What are the obstacles to it and how can they be overcome? Is that too hard a question?

**Governor Dewey:** Well, it's an awful big question.

**Mr. Smith:** I know it is.

**Governor Dewey:** And I didn't try to answer it in the book because my purpose in writing the book was to show my readers the people I had met in these countries and give them the sense of smell and feel so they could do their

own thinking and get their own fun out of the trip as I did.

Seriously, of course, Indo-China, aside from Korea, is the heart of the whole 300 million people that stretch from North to South, because it's that border of Southeast Asia along the China Sea between China and Malaya; and if it stands, I think we have a pretty good chance of keeping Thailand and Burma on our side.

Southeast Asia, those three countries, produced two-thirds of the exportable rice of the entire world. It's such a staggering fact. Then you have to add to that the fact that Japan has to have a good portion of that rice or the Japanese people aren't going to have enough to eat; and when people don't have enough to eat they don't care much about political ideology, and we need Japan on our side badly.

One of the curious things about that area is that it's a mixture of nations that were our enemies in the last war, our friends in the last war and some who were occupied by the Japanese (who turned them against us in some places) and there were those who were also our complete friends all the time.

You can't keep a free world if you only keep pieces of it. The great crisis in this world is whether it's going to be strong enough so that the Soviet Union can be stopped from getting a good bite per annum. Since the end of the war, as you know, Russia has grown by reason of the war, from 200 million people to 800 million people, or one third of the world. Now they only need another 400 million and they're going to have more than half of the world, and then we're in the minority; and the minute we're outnumbered by resources and by people, then I

think Stalin will feel free to attack, or to choke us to death.

So I want most desperately, for the sake of keeping this country alive and free—which is the most important thing in the world—to avoid World War III by having enough strength on our side so that it won't happen.

Dictators don't usually start wars they expect to lose, and I want to be so strong that Stalin or his successor will not start a war he can lose. One of the ways is to keep those 300 million people on our side.

We now have treaties of defense with Japan which is up on the North; with the Philippines down in the middle, and Australia and New Zealand down at the bottom. That would be just the same as if we had a treaty of mutual defense—that is to say, agreeing to go to each other's aid—with Norway in Europe and then down with Switzerland in the middle, which we couldn't ever get to to help, and Italy. It's as ridiculous as that.

To put it another way, it's as if Europe had a mutual defense treaty with the states of Maine, Michigan and California. It would be ridiculous.

Well, I'm all for these three defense treaties, but unless they are regarded as the beginning and not the ultimate, then we've got these huge gaps in the middle, and the communists can take them with complete impunity and having taken them then they can laugh at us, because Japan would wither on the vine—no place to trade, no rice to get, no raw materials.

The Philippines would be surrounded by Formosa on the North, by Communist Indonesia on the South and on the West, and the Philippines would wither on the

vine and Australia and New Zealand would be isolated. So what I want is a North Atlantic Treaty such as we have with Europe.

Do you remember all the bitter opposition that it got two years ago and everybody said that if we have that treaty it will bring on a war, and then they said if we try to implement it, if we built a European army, then Stalin will invade and Europe will fall? Where are those people now? They haven't got anything to say.

Europe is getting an army. The North Atlantic Treaty is alive—not accomplished, but a going concern. There's been no war. The stronger you get, the less likelihood there is for war, and I want to do that with the Pacific. That's my answer. Long answer, but it's the shortest way I can say it.

**Mr. Howe:** Thank you. And now our next and second interrogator, Mr. Frank Gibney. You saw active service in the Pacific during the war. You headed *Time Magazine's* Tokyo Bureau after the war. You were the first correspondent to be wounded in Korea. Now you're a member of the editorial staff of *Time*. What's your first question for Governor Dewey, Mr. Gibney?

**Mr. Gibney:** Well, I'd like to ask Governor Dewey a question along the same line. Certainly out there as a correspondent my imagination was stirred by the idea that despite the loss of China, at the moment free Asia could live through a North and South axis, with, to put it very simply, Japan in the North as the one industrial country in Asia supplying manufacturers' capital goods and consumer goods; and the Southern countries—Southeast Asia, all along that line from Formosa through Indo-China to Indonesia—supply-

ing rice, raw materials, and to a certain extent, since everybody wants to make goods himself, some of the simpler manufactures that could go into this complex.

Well, I saw a lot of Japan and am back very recently from there, but I was most fascinated by Governor Dewey's book by something at the other end of this axis.

**Mr. Smith:** That's a bad word, axis. This is a good axis.

**Mr. Gibney:** Coaxial relationship, I think, might be a word for it.

**Mr. Smith:** Why don't you make it an axle and we can roll on it?

**Mr. Gibney:** Yes, American know-how always knows how to take care of axle.

Well, I remember being back for a fleeting visit to Indonesia in December, 1949. It was one of the most inspiring moments in my life, because I had the privilege of being present at the birth of a new nation. The Indonesian army had come out of the hills, they'd made their peace with the Dutch, and in an atmosphere full of electricity but full of inspiration the Indonesians were raising their flag and the Dutch were taking down their flag over all the big buildings.

I was in a little tight spot myself, then, because my heart was with the Indonesians, but I had my hair cut short and looked like a Dutchman and got into all sorts of international incidents, but I was only able to stay there for about two weeks and I noticed that Governor Dewey was there much more recently and had a much better chance to look around.

Governor, I'd like to ask you what you think about the future of Indonesia—this really independent struggling country.

**Governor Dewey:** Well, I think it's one of the most exciting futures in the world. First of all, you have to be very sure that everybody knows what you're talking about. I wrote a speech last week and I discovered to my horror that I had written Indonesia where I meant Indo-China, and I felt like an idiot because it went out on the press release that way, and you have to remember that Indo-China is the name that's given to that area of three independent nations: Viet Nam, Cambodia, and Laos, three of the most romantic spots on earth. Cambodia, with its truly glorious Angkor, to which I devoted a chapter in the book, is along that coast of Southeast Asia, and below it are the romantic Spice Islands.

You speak of Indonesia very casually, Mr. Gibney, but you know I didn't actually know for sure where Indonesia was until I went to the Pacific and I think there are a lot of other people in the same position. It's the old Spice Islands that Columbus was looking for when he discovered America.

It's the three thousand islands that the Dutch have ruled for three and a half centuries in the most enlightened colonialism, or at least a brilliant job in many ways, and with those three thousand islands it now makes up the Republic of Indonesia which is the sixth largest nation on earth with 69 million people. It's almost exactly half as big as the United States of America in population, and it's one of the richest nations in the world.

They have a fabulous situation. Almost every member of the government has spent most of his life in prison or in exile. It is headed by men that the Dutch took as youngsters and sent to

Amsterdam and gave them a college education. The boys were the brightest young fellows in Indonesia and they came home and they were all filled with enthusiasm for freedom and republicanism and democracy, and they became a nuisance and the Dutch had to send them away; and finally they got so many of them that they devoted one whole island to them.

Then when the Japanese took the islands they came over to try to help liberate and to some extent they collaborated with the Japs in order to help get rid of the Dutch. Then at the end of the war they formed these armies with which you're so familiar, and they had one of the most tragic four-year wars in history, and won their independence on the field of battle.

I think the most curious situation occurred about 1948 when the Dutch had what was called the "second police action" and with a raid they caught and locked up the entire Indonesian Government; and having locked them up in prison, they found they were worse off than they were when they were out, because the people of Indonesia were so fired with enthusiasm that they were more trouble to the Dutch with the government in prison and the Dutch had to release the government in order to negotiate with them, because Soekarno, the president, said at the time that he would never negotiate from prison and the Dutch had to release him so they could negotiate.

There you have this group of the very well educated. For instance, I don't think there are but two men in that entire government who don't speak flawless English and by that I mean English that would pass—much of it without an

accent—in this company. In a nation in which literacy is only 7 per cent, yet they have a lot of millions of very bright people with great riches.

People think we should lend a lot of American money to help them develop that country. They've got more resources in Indonesia than we have and in about 46 different ways. They're one of the most important areas of the world and when they say they want to be neutral between us and the communist threat, I understand it, because they're busy trying to create a new kind of country. So long as they will stay out of the communist orbit, I'll be content.

Now that's a subject you could talk about all night, too.

**Mr. Smith:** Governor, I think that I was happy about Indonesia because I thought that with so much honest enthusiasm they couldn't go wrong. It seems a naive statement, but I think there's a lot you can do with honest enthusiasm, and these people had it and people would say at the moment they didn't have roads, they didn't have schools, but maybe we didn't have many roads or schools when we started out.

**Governor Dewey:** As I remember it, we had practically none in about 1776. By the way, I think of one of the interesting illustrations of how worlds are different. A Dutch doctor in Indonesia not long before I was there discovered that his patients who came to him for anemia, you know the prescription for anemia is that you go home and rest for six weeks and eat the right foods, and they'd come back three or four days later and they were all well.

The Dutch doctor was a little confused and he asked them what

they did and they said that they had used the native cure because they couldn't afford the good food and they couldn't afford not to work for six weeks. The native cure was to eat the head lice off their neighbors' heads. He had enough cases of that kind so he got impressed by it.

The AP correspondent came in with a case of anemia a few weeks before I was there, and the Dutch doctor said, "Do you want the American cure or the Indonesian cure?" (*Laughter*) And he explained it to him and the AP correspondent said, "Well, I got Indonesian anemia, I might as well use the Indonesian cure," so he got his first patient and went out and got the lice off the heads of some of the local citizens near by, put them into capsules, fed them to the AP correspondent, and he was well in four days.

**Mr. Gibney:** Governor, now I know why they told me to cut my hair short in Indonesia. (*Laughter*)

**Mr. Smith:** Remember, Governor, that's not extraordinary. The Chinese, you know, discovered ephedrine three thousand years before we did. They were curing the common cold with ephedrine a thousand years before the Christian era.

**Governor Dewey:** That I didn't know.

**Mr. Smith:** Yep, it's an old Chinese custom.

**Governor Dewey:** Well, the herb doctors of China fascinate me completely.

**Mr. Smith:** Oh, they're a wonderful lot.

**Governor Dewey:** And you know, politics are the same the world over. They've got a parliament under Chiang, the first elected government in the history of China,

about 1947, wasn't it? And every-time that somebody would come up with a bill to regulate the herb doctors and insist on modern medicine, there were just enough herb doctors in the Chinese parliament so the bill didn't pass. And there are a lot of them doing business on Formosa and all over China today.

**Mr. Smith:** Governor, I want to talk to you about another axle here. You were talking here about this North-South thing. If you're going to integrate this whole regional defense in which you're so much interested, you're going to have to have not only North-South relationship, you're going to have to have East-West; and right there in the middle of that East-West is your Indo-China on the mainland and the Philippines right across the South China Sea.

After all, Gibney was talking about seeing the flag run up in Indonesia. I saw the commonwealth flag run up in the Philippines in '35. I saw Quezon inaugurated, and last November I saw the Viet-Namese flag run up at Dalat, the academy there where they were graduating the Viet-Namese officers for the army. Now why isn't it possible at this stage for us to use our good offices to get closer relationships between the Philippines on the one hand and Viet-Nam on the other? They don't even have diplomatic relationships.

**Governor Dewey:** Oh, that is so complicated!

**Mr. Smith:** Why can't we help to pull them together?

**Governor Dewey:** Well, I'll tell you a little of the answer that I know. The Viet-Namese, to be specific, for everybody else the Viet-Nam is a new republic

of about 23 million people along the China seacoast. It is the biggest country in Indo-China and Bao Dai is the very much maligned chief of state. As a matter of fact, he's probably the ablest politician in the country, and goodness knows they need some more good politicians.

Their trouble is they want to change the cabinet and they haven't got anybody to change to. That's bad.

Quirino of the Philippines has been leading this argument for a whole Pacific pact like NATO, but the Philippines are afraid to get too closely involved with Indo-China because Indo-China and the free Chinese government—the Nationalist Chiang-Kai-Shek government—don't recognize each other because Indo-China is afraid that if Chiang recognizes them and gives them any token of cooperation that will be an excuse for the red Chinese communists on the coast to attack Indo-China.

I mean this thing is infinitely complicated, and when you add to that the problems of oriental thinking you've really got a beaut.

At the same time, in no country that I visited did I find resistance to the idea that we all were in this together except in Indonesia where they terribly wanted to be neutral. They have the idea that maybe they can be neutral in this struggle between the giants of the world to survive. Well, someday they will learn that you can't be neutral between slavery and human freedom, and they ought to know it the most, because they still got several thousand Chinese armed bandits waging a full-scale revolution in the country right now. Only a month before I was there on a road I traveled on, they killed a *Time Magazine* correspondent and

a Yale professor. Chinese Bandits. Wasn't it *Time Magazine*?

**Mr. Gibney:** Yes, I remember, it was. That was Bob Doyle, one of our best correspondents. Sadly enough, he was probably, of all the correspondents, the man who loved the Indonesian people the most. That's why he never traveled armed.

**Governor Dewey:** Actually when I was there they thought it was probably because some of the communists wanted the jeep and killed these two fellows to get it, and there was only one witness and that was a woman, and she got killed the next day. Nice people.

**Mr. Smith:** Well, Governor, I would pursue that a little bit further. Now there is that complex situation on the position of the Nationalist Chinese but that should not necessarily prevent just perfectly ordinary diplomatic relationship, say, between the Philippines and Viet-Nam. They have this enormously important economic relationship. After all, for years in Manila we always set the price of rice by what ylang ylang was on the Saigon Market. And they do have many cultural things more or less in common.

They can be enormously sympathetic. Why can't you just suggest that it would be an awfully good idea just to have an exchange of ambassadors? I mean, after all, we exchange ambassadors.

**Governor Dewey:** I did.

**Mr. Smith:** Did you? What happened?

**Governor Dewey:** They both agreed it was the right thing to do, but there were technical problems.

**Mr. Smith:** Oh, I see.

**Governor Dewey:** And I think that we'll have it in due course and probably pretty soon, and I think that also the relationship between Indonesia which is so critical is coming along very well. One real trouble is this Japanese peace treaty. You know, that the people want 8 billion dollars in reparations out of Japan, and Japan hasn't got 8 billion dollars and never will have. They're too poor. And it's a political problem of considerable importance. You know Quirino was a statesman and signed a treaty and he promptly got the reward of many statesmen: He got licked in the election. Within two months, he lost the control of the Senate, but I think he'll overcome that.

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## QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

**Mr. Howe:** Now the time has come in this discussion of America's role in the Pacific for questions from the audience. What is the first question the gentleman down there has for Governor Dewey?

**Man:** Is the Quirino government in the Philippines in your estimation capable of suppressing the Huks?

**Governor Dewey:** Yes, sir, I'm delighted to say that at the time I was there a year ago they were beginning to make the first substantial progress. You know this business of jungle guerillas is terribly difficult, when you can come out of the jungle, burn a village or raid it, steal your food or squeeze it out of the villagers, kill a few police officers, get ammuni-

tion and go back to the jungle where it's difficult to pursue.

It's been a terrible problem, but they got Magsaysay who was a brilliant officer in charge as secretary of defense, and in the six months before I was there, they felt that they had reduced the number of guerillas from 15 thousand to 10 thousand. A lot of people said they were crazy and irresponsible and so forth, but the result is today that I think it's a fair statement that they probably have got them down to 10,000. Mr. Smith's the real expert on the Philippines. What do you say to that?

*Mr. Smith:* I'd say it's much below 10 thousand out there. It's closer to five.

*Governor Dewey:* That's what I meant to say.

*Mr. Smith:* When I was out there in November I drove all the way up and down and right through Huklandia without the slightest qualms. I think that problem is pretty thoroughly licked.

*Governor Dewey:* I believe they're going to lick it. It's really been a tough one.

*Mr. Howe:* Beginning tonight, we're using questions submitted in advance by our listeners. We want to thank you for the many excellent questions you sent us for tonight's discussion. The listener who submitted the most timely and appropriate question for our speakers will receive a 20-volume set of the American People's Encyclopedia and our staff decided that Jeanne Griffin of 36 North Street, Joseph Avenue, Niles, Michigan, sent in the most pertinent question for Governor Dewey. Here it is, Governor: How can the United States disassociate

itself in Asia's eyes from the imperialist colonialism some West European nations still maintain in the near and far East?

*Governor Dewey:* Gee, that's quite a question.

*Mr. Howe:* It's worth a 20-volume set.

*Governor Dewey:* Yes, the only trouble with it is that it's a "Have you stopped beating your wife?" question, because it asks how we can disassociate ourselves from the imperialist colonialism that our European friends still maintain.

Well, I wonder. For instance, looking at Indonesia, the Dutch have negotiated not only independence, but full independence, for the Republic of Indonesia at a terrific sacrifice, so there's no Dutch colonialism left. As a matter of fact, they need a few more Dutch around to help them continue to run the government for a longer period.

In Indo-China, contrary to what a lot of left-wing writers have said, it is a fact today that the French have now given to Indo-China the establishment of three republics, Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos. And the French are there spending a billion dollars a year and losing, up until this year, more officers by death than they graduate in France, defending a nation to which they have granted independence. It's as if we were losing in the defense of the Philippines more officers than we graduate in West Point and Annapolis combined each year today, having granted the Philippines full and free independence. There's very little French colonialism left.

The British—what colonialism have they got left? Burma is now as free as the air with no ties; India is as free as the air with only a very tenuous tie of loyalty

to the crown and that's all. Ceylon is the same. Malaya—Malaya, the British have as a crown colony. Singapore they have, which is a little island at the end of the Malayan peninsula, and the Malays don't want independence.

It's a curious thing, and this is not my say so, because I couldn't say it with authority, but it is the opinion of every expert who studied it that the Malays would be in a terribly bad shape if the British pulled out and most of them know it. Their leaders told me so.

So, while there is still the aura of colonialism, it does not exist in fact anymore, and I think our disassociation from it, as one of the great leaders there urged upon me that we should disassociate ourselves more from it.

The fact of the matter is that we can't say to the French, "We think you're great people in Europe, or the British, but in Asia you're no good." In fact, they're doing a wonderful job, and they ought to get credit for it. I believe that we are no longer handicapped in the Pacific to any substantial degree by our European association with our great allies.

*Lady:* Governor Dewey, do you believe that the native Indonesian government has a valid claim on Irian?

*Governor Dewey:* Oh, golly, that is a tough one. I know what your sentiments are because you call it Irian. If you call it Irian that means that you believe that the Western half of the Island of New Guinea belongs to Indonesia; if you call it New Guinea, then you believe it belongs to Holland, that being the traditional name.

Actually, there is no valid claim either way. That is an enormous undeveloped island. Ethnologically,

the people are not very closely related to the Indonesians, as I understand it, but the Dutch did teach in the Indonesian schools for three or four centuries that New Guinea, or Western New Guinea, was part of their country, so you have a dilemma and I think they'll solve it by a compromise arrangement as they must. It's ridiculous that it should be such a subject of controversy. There aren't enough people in that huge almost sub-continent to fill one assembly district in Manhattan Island.

*Man:* Governor Dewey, is there any possible solution to the conflict in Indo-China?

*Governor Dewey:* The only possible solution is victory for the cause of freedom. You can't make a compromise with communists successfully. Ho Chi Minh, whom many people have described as a sheer nationalist patriot, has been an employee and front man of the communist movement since 1917. He spent three years in Moscow, heading part of the group working in the World Cominform and he is solidly determined to take Indo-China for Moscow as Mao Tse Tung took China for the Communist cause.

The thrilling thing has been the progress made in that desperate jungle warfare under deLattre, whom I described in the book with unbounded enthusiasm, and I think his death was one of the tragedies of our time.

I believe that the causes of freedom are going to win there, unless the Chinese create a brand new war by turning their forces in. I do believe also that the native forces are going to provide the troops within a year or two and their new premier, Tam, his name is, is going to give the kind of leadership and social reform and

military strength that's going to make Viet-Nam an ally we can be very proud of.

*Lady:* Governor Dewey, is there any chance of returning to Japan the northern islands that were taken by Russia?

*Governor Dewey:* Well, I think that that would involve war if we endeavored to do so, and I don't believe that either Japan or the United States is prepared to launch a war over the Kuriles. The Ryukus and the Kuriles are valuable islands, and I think that it was a calamity that the concession was made to Russia because today Russian divisions are three miles off of the island of Hokkaido, the north island of Japan. That creates a very serious threat and means that Japan is surrounded by armed forces, but I certainly wouldn't propose any method that I can think of because you don't chase Russian divisions off except with American divisions, and I'm not prepared even to approve such a suggestion under any circumstances.

*Mr. Howe:* Well, there's an answer for that, that's good and clear. Let's hear the next question.

*Man:* Governor Dewey, hasn't the success of the Marshall plan in Europe proved that providing economic and technical aid is a better cure for empty stomach communism in Asia than military force?

*Governor Dewey:* Yes, so long as there are free people left to receive the aid. If in the meantime Ho-Chi-Minh has conquered Indo-China, there isn't much opportunity to provide technical aid, is there? And if in the meantime the communist revolutionaries have won Malaya, where the British have

a bloody and costly battle still, or Indonesia or the Philippines, then there isn't any country to save.

So first of all, you have to win the military battle in order to win the battle of hunger and education. I think the two go hand in hand, and I do not think that it will cost large sums of money. I think that we've spent all we need to spend in those countries. What I mean is, we shouldn't have rising budgets because they're very rich. What they need is technical assistance, and as one very wise Japanese professor of agronomy said, "Governor," I think I reported this, "when you send men out here, please send us one very good man instead of four poor ones."

*Lady:* Governor Dewey, why weren't the Philippines and other Pacific nations included in the recent Pacific conference which was held last month, I believe?

*Governor Dewey:* I don't know.

*Man:* Governor Dewey, would it ever be possible to allow the Chinese nationalists to enter the Korean war without inviting a world war with Russia?

*Governor Dewey:* Well, there's a good deal of argument about that, and I haven't been clear in my own mind, but I do think probably that if the forces of Chiang Kai-Shek were used in the war in Korea it would encourage an excuse at least, if the Russian and the Chinese wanted it, for attack on Formosa and perhaps on Indo-China and that would be a powder keg.

*Mr. Howe:* Well, about thirty seconds left for a very quick question and answer.

*Man:* Governor Dewey, is it possible in the near future to get propaganda to Chinese communists to turn them against their war lords?

*Governor Dewey:* I believe that the people are turning against the government rather more than we'd expected. Of course, if you torture and abuse and rob a people as has occurred in the last two years under Mao Tse Tung, they're bound to turn against the government; but the Chinese have always been against the government, and it's pretty hard to revolt against tanks

and machine guns and airplanes, so I believe that it will be a long time before there will be a change by any internal process.

*Mr. Howe:* Thanks, Governor Dewey, Mr. Gibney, and Mr. Smith for your interesting discussion of America's role in the Pacific. So plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's Bell.

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## FOR FURTHER STUDY OF THIS WEEK'S TOPIC

### Background Questions

1. Has the United States a consistent, well-defined, and realistic Asian policy?
  - a. To what extent are we committed in Asia today, and are we thoroughly aware of the foreign and domestic implications of our commitments?
  - b. Is our Asian policy and the whole policy of containment defensive and defeatist?
  - c. Should we adopt a policy of retaliation in the event of future Communist aggression?
2. Is the assumption that Europe is more important than Asia to our over-all security correct?
3. Are the problems involved in stabilizing Asia and insuring it against foreign aggression more complex and difficult than those confronting us in Europe?
4. Are we associated in Asian minds with their former European masters?
  - a. How can we more closely associate ourselves with our allies in Europe and at the same time disassociate ourselves from these same colonial powers in Asia?
  - b. Have we allowed British, French and Dutch interests to dictate our action or inaction in Asia?
5. Is Communist propaganda responsible for the growing hostility toward the United States or is the growth of nationalism a more potent anti-Western force?
6. What type of action must the United States take to secure the good will of the Asian people?
  - a. Can the United States rely on material and economic succor to win their confidence or must it recognize and understand their non-economic aspirations?
  - b. Has our economic aid been too little and too late, or has it had a salutary effect on U. S.-Asian relations?
  - c. Do the Asian people regard Point IV as an attempt to buy their good will or to foster a new kind of colonialism in their lands?
  - d. Would administration of technical assistance by the United Nations be more acceptable?

7. What are the chances of creating a total Pacific treaty of mutual defense?
  - a. Should there be a Pacific Pact similar to the North Atlantic Treaty? Or, is the problem of Pacific defense vastly different and more complicated than NATO?
  - b. Can the United States foster a plan for total Pacific defense when strong neutralist sentiment exists in at least three of the nations, India, Indonesia and Burma, vital to any such plan?
8. How effective will the Tripartite Security be in deterring further Communist aggression? Was this conceived as an anti-Japanese or an anti-Communist pact?
9. Can the United States take the political offensive in Asia by advocating and fostering sweeping reforms?
10. Is the struggle in Asia essentially a struggle for the minds of men?
  - a. Have we failed to understand Asian cultures and aspirations in trying too hard to sell the American way of life?
  - b. Have we fully exploited the propaganda value of our own former colonial status, our fostering of Philippine independence, and our speedy reaction to aggression in Korea?
11. Do the results of the occupation warrant optimism regarding the new Japan?
12. Should we help Japan regain her former status as an industrial and military power before we are sure that she is irrevocably committed to our political camp?
13. Can Japan resume trade with Communist China and remain outside the Communist orbit?
14. If the United States does not want Japan to be the industrial provider for Communist China, are we not obligated to help her develop other markets to take the place of those we find politically undesirable?
15. What is the reaction toward the Japanese Peace Treaty in Asia?
  - a. Do the Asian people feel that we are fostering the development of their former oppressor at their expense?
  - b. Is there great resentment over the reparations issue, as in the case of the Philippines?
  - c. How is the possible remilitarization of Japan regarded by her Asian neighbors?
16. Should we continue the truce talks in Korea? If not, what are the alternatives?
17. What is the connection between the Korean war and the fighting in Indo-China, Malaya, etc.?
18. If a peace settlement is achieved in Korea, what are the chances of more aggressive Chinese intervention in Southeast Asia?
19. To what extent should we commit ourselves militarily and economically in Indo-China?
20. Is the United States underestimating the importance of the overseas Chinese throughout free Asia?
21. How much reliance can the free world place on the Chinese Nationalist troops?

## BEHIND THE CRIER'S BELL

"How can the United States disassociate itself, in Asia's eyes, from the imperialistic colonialism some western European nations still maintain in the Near and Far East?" This question from Jeanne Griffin of Niles, Michigan, marks the first to earn a complimentary set of the splendid American Peoples Encyclopedia now being offered each week on TOWN MEETING. It was selected from hundreds of entries as most pertinent to the September 9th discussion on "America's Position in the Pacific," and Governor Dewey's reply can be found in the text of this bulletin.

For those who missed the recent announcement of Moderator Quincy Howe, TOWN MEETING is now inviting listeners to submit a question, phrased in 25 words or less, that they would like asked on the next week's broadcast. The person sending in the most appropriate query, in the judgment of our program staff, will be awarded the 20-volume American Peoples Encyclopedia, valued at more than \$300.

For two reasons, we are especially pleased that this new feature could be arranged. First, it allows for more direct participation by listeners who cannot be with us in person, encouraging them to express clear-cut questions and issues. Second, the plan worked out with the American Peoples Encyclopedia provides an unusual opportunity for listeners to compete weekly for a reference set which has been endorsed by leading educators and librarians throughout the country.

Since for years, many social science classes have made a practice of discussing TOWN MEETING broadcasts, we hope that students particularly will get into the habit of mailing questions to Town Hall. Libraries, too, might well call the attention of their members to this stimulating new competition.

For the information of teachers, librarians and other bulletin readers, here are a few facts about the American Peoples Encyclopedia. Commissioned by Sears, Roebuck and Company, it is printed in easy-to-read type and easy-to-handle size (6½" x 10" page). The distinguished encyclopedist, Franklin J. Meine, was editor-in-chief of the newly revised edition, supervising the work of 100 staff members and 3,200 contributors from all fields of encyclopedic knowledge. With many of its illustrations in full color and the use of such devices as transvision (transparent acetate pictures), special charts, and picture stories, the Encyclopedia has great visual appeal.